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maternal lineage of the maternal grandmother. I have on record no actual instances of this arrangement, for which informants could give no native name.

The status of an adopted child in a family is the same as that of a blood child. The precise kinship terms applied to the parent-child relationship are *tama kokoti* or *tama wangai*, and *matua kokoti* or *love* or *matua wangai*. These are rarely used save for the sake of pedantic exactness in the discussion of genealogies. In fact, the *tama kokoti* is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything save the accident of conception and parturition, though here the fiction is that the adopting parents are sociologically the parents even during gestation. The adopting parents are *matua*, and the child is *tama*, in the full sociological sense of the kinship terms. The child loses all status, kinship and sociological, in relation to his blood family. All kinship ties established by birth are broken, and new kinship obligations are formulated according to the relationships of his adopting parents. As the child grows up, he may be permitted to visit his blood parents, whom of course, he soon learns to know; he may help with their work, or care for them in sickness. But it is to the adopting parents that the child owes primary obligations, and on whom he is supposed to lavish his care and affection.

Because of the complete sociological break brought about by adoption it is regarded as the blackest treachery for the blood parents, through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, to encourage the child to visit them. Some parents are known to do this by petting the child when he visits them, by saving choice tidbits for him, and by treating him with a more lavish display of affection than he receives from his adoptive parents. Such actions are resented by the adoptive parents who expect the blood parents to do nothing to revive blood ties. If a child goes to them they should send him away, resorting to violence if necessary, to show the child that he is unwanted. Similarly, adoptive parents are fully justified in severely whipping an adopted child who persists in visiting his blood parents. No punishment less than manslaughter is considered too drastic for the child who deserts his adoptive parents. If, in spite of punishment, ties of blood and affection are so strong that the child ultimately deserts his adoptive parents, as in fact sometimes happens, then there is nothing for the adoptive parents to do but to moralize on the iniquity of human nature or try adopting another child.

KINSHIP

Pukapukan kinship terms are listed in table 7. Beyond the fact that there is much confusion in the minds of informants today as to the exact extension of certain terms, particularly of those characterizing avoidance

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relationships, the system is essentially simple and presents few complexities. Dual lineage organization has had no effect observable today upon the kinship system or terminology. Terms follow the usual Polynesian system of stratification. It may be stressed again that the distinction between blood and kin relatives called by the same term is always and easily kept in mind by the native, and there is never any confusion as to the proper emotional attitude or behavior due to the various relatives. The intension of kinship feelings, that is in terms of formal pattern, varies directly with the extension of the application of the kinship terms. Terms are not used in direct address, but as terms of description, save in mourning ceremonies, when a mourner addresses the corpse by the appropriate kinship term; at all other times, personal names are used in address, including that of child to parents.

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Table 7. Kinship Terms

Stratum	Collateral	Lineal	Affinal
2	Tupuna tane (great uncle) Tupuna wawine (great aunt)	Tupuna (grandparent)	Tupuna (spouse's grandparent)
1	Matua tane (uncle) Matua wawine (aunt)	Matua tane (father) Matua wawine (mother)	Matua angavai tane (father-in-law) Matua angavai wawine (mother-in-law)
0	Cousins of same sex as speaker, taina; cousins of opposite sex to speaker, hoinga wa-laina or wafa ana	Siblings of same sex as speaker, taina; siblings of opposite sex to speaker, tua'ana (w.s.), tua wawine (m.s.), hoinga (m. or w.s.)	Tuakana tane (brother-in-law), tuakana wawine (sister-in-law). Affinal relatives generally, tao tangata
—1	Tamatane (nephew), tamawawine (niece)	Tamatane (son), tamawawine (daughter)	Umonga tane (son-in-law), umonga wawine (daughter-in-law). Affinal relatives at this level generally, hunga tangata, as, tua hunga tane, brothers of son- and daughter-in-law.
—2	Mokopuna tane (great nephew) Mokopuna wawine (great niece)	Mokopuna tane (grandson), mokopuna wawine (granddaughter)	Descriptive terms, as, wawine na taku mokopuna tane, wife of my male grandchild.

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One important characteristic of the Pukapukan system is the absence of special terms to express seniority among lineal descendants of the same stratum. This is done only by the addition of descriptive terms. A younger brother calls an older brother *taina tane*. By the use of the terms *tane*

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601 (before, first), *loto* (middle), *muli* (behind, after) it is possible sufficiently to indicate seniority differences according to the Pukapukan pattern. The word *tuatua* is occasionally applied by an older brother or sister to a younger sibling of the same or opposite sex. There are no special terms other than the descriptive words just given indicating seniority in cross sex reference; thus a younger brother calls an older sister *tua wawine mua*. Today, with [177] the breakdown of the native system, Rarotongan kinship terms indicating seniority are commonly used. Sex differences on the zero stratum are indicated by the use of the terms *taina* between siblings of the same sex, *tua tane* or *tua wawine* between siblings of the opposite sex. Some informants tend to apply the term *hainga* (to be distinguished from the term *hainga makaua*, which indicates cousins of opposite sex) to siblings of opposite sex. In this sense the term is constantly used in folk stories, but one at least of our best informants did not agree with this use of the term, and others changed their opinion several times during the course of temporally separate discussions about the matter. Sex differences for other [illegible] are indicated by the words *tane* and *wawine* for male and female respectively.

Descriptive terms are used to indicate remote relationships on each stratum if exactness of reference is required. Affinal relatives generally, at the zero and minus one stratum, are called *tao tangata* and *hanga tangata* respectively. These words refer to close relatives by marriage connection, not by blood. A child of an unmarried mother is a *tama to taku;* spouse's child by another man or woman is *tama tau tokalua*. Conversely, blood mother or father's mate is *matua tau tokalua*. Blood parents are *matua tuaua* as opposed to adoptive parents, *matua lave*.

The eldest child, male or female, in a family is called the *uluaki*. *Ngaloto* is applied to the second child in a family of three or four children; to the second and third children in a family of five children; to the second, third, and fourth children in a family of six children. *Taina* is used for the next to last child in a family of more than three children. *Wakamuli* is the last child in any family. *Aukimua* is the heir apparent in the chiefly family, the boy either chosen by the father or generally reckoned to be the child likely to succeed to the title. *Angavale* (grandchild) is a term with more affectionate feeling tone than the colorless word *makopuna*.

In spite of the strong matriliny in Pukapukan society, there is no special term for mother's brother, nor any indication of special obligations or privileges between mother's brother and sister's child, corresponding to the *tamana* or *tuvu* relationships of Samoa and Fiji. The word *ilamutu*, however, has meaning for the Pukapukan:

It is now an archaic word, found only in old chants, and not in current usage. A man's adopted child (*tama hakoti*) of either sex who is the blood child of a female blood relative of his own generation—that is, of his older or younger blood sister, or of his

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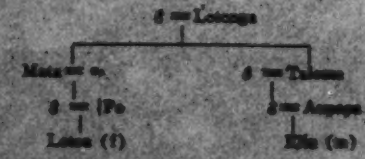
cousin-in-avoidance—is the man's *ilamutu*. The father calls the child my *ilamutu;* the child calls the father my *matua*. No such term would be applied to the child of a brother adopted by the brother's sister, nor to a grandchild adopted by grandparents.

Hutchin (18) is the authority for the statement that *inakava* (*sic*) is the term applied to the daughter of a sister. What this means is not clear. The word *yinakava* is archaic and is found only in old chants. It is applied to anything or anybody which is tapu. Hence the god house on a double canoe or a sacred structure is *yinakava*. Similarly one who stands in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance to the speaker is *yinakava* to the speaker. A man might call his cousin-in-avoidance my *yinakava*, but only under stress of emotion as in mourning ceremonies; in a love chant one's cousin-in-avoidance may be addressed, by poetic metaphor, as *yinakava*.

Avoidance relations hold between those who are related to each other as *hoinga wakaua* or as *uale atua*, and differ in intensity for the two types of relationship. The *uale atua* relationship involved more complete avoidance. But what constituted the difference between the two relationships is hard to distinguish at this date, as both have largely disappeared under missionary influence. Groups of informants were decidedly unclear on the subject, some giving as *uale atua*, for instance, the names of people who did not themselves recognize their *uale atua* relationship to the others. Pau gave the clearest definition of both terms:

> First cousins of opposite sex, whether cross or parallel, stand to each other in the relationship of *hoinga wakaua*. In the next generation, children of opposite sex of these *hoinga wakaua* are *uale atua* to each other. In the next generation children of opposite sex of *uale atua* are also *uale atua*, and so on, theoretically as long as the common bond of descent is remembered. Children of the same sex of *hoinga wakaua* are *taina* to each other. Children of these *taina*, as also children of *taina*, themselves the children of brother and sister, if of opposite sex, are *uale atua* to each other. Similarly, children of the same sex, of *uale atua* are *taina* to each other, but children of opposite sex, of these *taina*, are *uale atua*, because, in both cases, the remembered ancestors two generations back were either *uale atua* or *hoinga wakaua* to each other. This is illustrated in the genealogy:



Mata and Talaua are brother and sister. Their children, cross cousins of the same sex, are *taina* to each other. The children of these *taina*, Lotoa and Elia, are *uale atua* because they are related through *taina*, first cousins of the same sex, who again are descended from blood brother and sister. Children of Elia and Lotoa, of the opposite sex, are *uale atua* to each other.

1: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935
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[Information in this source which is either inadequate, inco
been filed in category 116: for kinship terminology, rule of
tionships, see pp. 16-18.]

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